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HOW CAN AMERICA BEST CONTRIBUTE TOWARD CONSTRUCTIVE AND DURABLE PEACE?

BY CHARLES W. ELIOT,
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In accordance with your request, I send you a brief answer to the question "How Can America Best Contribute toward Constructive and Durable Peace?"

1. The United States can teach by precept and example that no nation should endeavor to establish by aggressive war dominion over any other state large or small. It has already twice abstained under trying circumstances from adding to its territory by conquest, once in Cuba, and once in Mexico, and is entitled to assert steadily that aggressive war is not an available means, in the present state of the world, of settling international disputes, or of extending national power.

2. The United States, as an original advocate of the doctrine of exemption from capture of private property at sea, may now properly maintain that all seas, and all canals or channels connecting great seas, should be free to the commerce of the world, and that this freedom should be placed under international guaranties.

3. The United States should urge for general acceptance John Hay's policy of the "open door" as the best means of promoting the trade of all manufacturing peoples—Occidental or Oriental.

4. The United States has no desire to hold colonial possessions by force, or to govern subject peoples in any part of the world, and can, therefore, contend and hope for the general recognition of the principle that the only enlargements of national territory worth having are those brought about by consent and with good will and, therefore, likely to become bound to the central or parent state by the sense of mutual service and advantage.

5. The United States has advocated arbitration as a means of settling international disputes, and has itself resorted in numerous cases to the method of arbitration as a means of settling its own disputes with other nations. Recent events, however, seem to prove beyond question that the major cases of international strife

are matters which do not permit of either arbitration or conciliation, because they originate in racial or religious differences, hot commercial competitions, or other popular emotions and passions. The court contemplated in the Hague Conferences has always been of an arbitral nature, suited for composing disputes on minor points which permitted of compromise. The United States should hereafter use all its influence toward the creation of an International Council capable of securing a permanent peace, and created by fresh international treaties.

6. Since such a Council would be ineffective unless supported by an international force, the United States ought to prepare to furnish its full quota, in proportion to its population and its wealth, of the international naval force competent to prevent any interference with the freedom of the seas. This quota should be of the highest possible efficiency as regards types of vessels, ordnance, munitions, and skill of officers and men.

7. The United States should use all its influence in international discussions to substitute frankness and honesty in negotiations, amity, mutual forbearance, coöperation, and stable international peace in place of secret and cheating diplomacy, enmity, domination of the strong over the weak, injustice, and recurrent war.

8. When a Supreme International Council or Tribunal has been established, the United States can urge consistently with its own practice that national armaments should be reduced, and that the practice of fortifying frontiers and cities should be abandoned.